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175 797 [776] In one of the Spanish expeditions to Florida. Fr. Domingo undertook at once the overthrow of the patron god of the *pueblo*, Ome Tochtli, or Tepoztecatl, a deity of such importance that pilgrims came from as far as Chiapas to visit his altar. Tradition has it that he persuaded the Indians to allow him to put the power of Ome Tochtli to a test. He would hurl the figure from its eminence on the cliff above the valley; if it should be dashed into pieces the natives would acknowledge its lack of divine power. The test was carried out; the idol smashed into fragments on the rocks; these fragments were incorporated into the foundations of the Christian church. The stone cross [778] under the *ahuehuetes* around the well-watered clearing at the place known as Axihtla, at the northern edge of the *pueblo*, is supposed to mark the spot where the first baptisms took place.

175 177 [797] During the early part of the colonial period the forms of Christianity and the few important elements of Spanish material culture—iron, plow, cattle, swine, and fruit trees—became incorporated into an Indian culture that had been stripped by the *padres* of most traits of primitive ritual and belief. The *pueblo* prospered; the streets were improved, new aqueducts built, a walled garden with a bandstand erected in the central square. The first municipal government was in- 175 stalled in 1820. During the nineteenth century peri- 731 ods of prosperity alternated with periods of decline. The old documents report pestilences in 1813, 1814, 1830, and 1833. In 1839 an earthquake shook down

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177 (S. *candil*), the candle, and the alcohol tin (S. *bote*) in
354 which water is carried and stored. Two of these tins
415 are yoked together and swung over the shoulder. In
482 this device (S. *aguantador*), of course European in
562 character, water is hauled by the men. A woman carries only a single tin.

1778 A domestic shrine is found in most houses. This may
352 be no more than a printed or painted picture of a saint, but more commonly it is a carved and painted wooden figure, usually a Virgin or a Christ. This may be only a few inches high, or as much as six feet. Most are from early Colonial times. In front of this figure
782 an incense burner (S. *sahumeria;* N. *popochcomitl*) is
778 placed. This is of black glazed pottery. In it copal
352 gum is burned. Flowers are also placed before the figure, in bottles or vases, and pictures of other saints are hung near the image. This shrine is the center of domestic worship and ritual. Candles are burned before it on feast days; here the infant Christ is "put to bed" on Christmas Eve and taken up on Candlemas; before this image are placed gifts brought on birth-
527 days or those brought by a boy's parents during the
584 negotiations leading to a marriage with a daughter of the house.

353 Any property not in use is kept on plain wooden shelves or in covered wooden chests. Extra clothing is hung on nails. Walls are frequently decorated with pictures cut from newspapers, with sentimental picture postcards, and with little clay toys and ornamental dishes brought from other villages.

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CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE VILLAGE 621

The social organization of the village itself follows the same pattern as that just described for the entire valley community. Tepoztlán, like the whole community of which it is the largest village, is made up of [794] semi-independent units, each of which centers about a church and a patron saint. These units are the *barrios*. The *barrios* are the contiguous component parts of the village, but their presence and relative posi- [346] tions are indicated by the towers of the seven small churches or chapels (*capillas*) which, with the great central church situated on the *plaza*, alone of the buildings of Tepoztlán, project above the sea of foliage which covers the town in the rainy season. These seven small chapels are scattered about the village; no two are close together. Each is located in and is 621 the property of one of the seven *barrios*. The chapel 778 and the *barrio* take their name from the saint whose 796 image is placed on the altar of the chapel and on 103 whose name day falls the *fiesta* of that *barrio*. Santa Cruz has not one, but two, *fiestas*—one on May 3, the other on August 6—because there are two images in the chapel, that of the Santa Cruz and that of San Salvador. In this case, while the *barrio* is known as [776] Santa Cruz, Saint Salvador[1] is thought of as the pat-

[1] "Saint Salvador"—rather than an aspect of the Christ.

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621 778 796 776 103 ron of the *barrio*. The small hamlet of Ixcatepec, just outside Tepoztlán, has the same two images and the same two *fiestas*. By arrangement of long standing, however, Ixcatepec celebrates its *fiestas* a week after those of Santa Cruz.

621 162 The *barrios* vary a great deal in size. The number of houses in each *barrio* is approximately as follows:

San Pedro	35	La Santísima (Trinidad)	175
Los Reyes	65	San Miguel	150
San Sebastian	14	San Domingo	175
Santa Cruz	100		

Roughly speaking, there are four large *barrios* and three small ones. The three large *barrios* last named are grouped about the central *plaza*, while the three small ones and Santa Cruz are situated above (west of) the others.[1] The boundaries of the *barrios* are clearly defined. Sometimes a boundary runs in the middle of a street and sometimes the houses on both sides pertain to the same *barrio*, the boundary then running just behind a row of houses. Occasionally there are irregular jogs which take a few houses out of a block and include them in another *barrio*. A whole block of houses, geographically in San Miguel, belong to the *barrio* of Santa Cruz, although almost at the opposite end of town.[2] The inhabitants of these houses take 794 their turn in the care of the chapel of Santa Cruz, and pay the contribution paid by *barrio* members at the time of the *fiesta* of that *barrio*.

[1] See map, p. 220.

[2] How this came about the writer is unable to say. No informant had any explanation.

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lamps which are hung in the street outside the chapel, and here the youths of the *barrio* come in the evening to talk, gamble, or listen to songs. But it is at the time of the annual *fiesta* that the collective importance of the *barrio* members reaches its highest importance, and the chapel becomes the great focus of interest for the entire *pueblo* and even for neighboring villages. The decoration of the chapel, the ceremonial bringing of the candles, the burning of the candles, the erection and burning of the *castillo*, the preparation and consumption of the festal dishes, the playing of the ancient flute or the *teponaztli* on the roof of the chapel, one or more sacred dances and sometimes *toros*—all constitute a program of ritual and entertainment which occupies from one to seven days. Although members of other *barrios* take part in the entertainment, the *barrio* whose *santo* is celebrated acts as host, and its members very much feel their collective importance.

The *santo* is the symbol of the collective spirit of the *barrio*. It is not uncommon for an individual to boast of the superior miraculousness of the *santo* of his *barrio:* "Our *barrio* is the most important because our image is the most miraculous." San Salvador protected the people of Santa Cruz during the revolution; San Sebastian appears in dreams to the people of his *barrio*, and offers them advice, etc.

There is, therefore, a morale, an *esprit de corps*, inhering in the *barrio*, embodied in the *santo* and occasionally expressed as rivalry. Every exertion must

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ramada in preparation for the *fiesta* of that *barrio*. The atrium and the floor of the church are swept, and the altars decorated with flowers and tissue-paper garlands. The figures of the Three Kings, usually a triplet of *santos* at the altar, are placed so that candles may be burned separately to each. A tissue-paper lantern, in the form of a clock, is hung above the door of the chapel.

January 5.—This is the day before the *fiesta* of Los Reyes. At night the chapel is open and women of the *barrio* come to pray. The men of the *barrio* march to the chapel with the rockets to be set off for the *fiesta*, and then go to the house of the *mayordomo* to enjoy the usual bottle of alcohol. At about ten o'clock *Los Pastores*, the boys who come with staffs of bells to sing traditional songs on Christmas Eve, dance to the chapel of Los Reyes and there dance and sing before the Magi. The women of the *barrio* are up most of the night grinding corn and squash seeds for the *tamales* to be eaten the next day. The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the chapel.

January 6.—On the day of the *fiesta* the *barrio* of Los Reyes entertains friends from other *barrios* and other villages. Everyone puts on his best clothes. In the morning women come to the chapel to burn candles before the *santos* and to pray. After nightfall a small *castillo*, in the form of a bull, is burned in the atrium of the chapel. The *mayordomos* for next year's *fiesta* are chosen at a meeting just outside the chapel.

January 7.—The *chirimía*, now playing at the

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the day of the *fiesta* they come to dance before the *santo*. They march up to the chapel and kneel before the altar. Then they dance and sing inside the chapel. They wear tall, plumed headdresses, embroidered with beads and small mirrors, pink or red blouses, short red skirts with bead and shell pendants, colored stockings, and sandals. Some are women; most are men, who wear long false hair. They dance to mandolins made of armadillo shell. Their leaders carry banners bearing the name of their organization and effigies of *santos*. After they have paid their respects to the *santo* in the church, they come outside and, forming a circle, begin to dance in the atrium. The step is varied from time to time, but the dancers keep their respective places in the circle. Occasionally they sing. The leader sings the verses, and all join in the chorus:

¡Ay! Jesús!
Solo Jesús
Quiso morir en la cruz.

The *cuadrillos* of *Apaches* from San Juan and from Santiago arrive together, accompanied by a band of musicians. They march into the church to kneel before the *santo*, before beginning to dance on the other side of the atrium. The dancing keeps up all morning.

While they are dancing the large candles to be burned before the *santo* are brought in a procession from the house of the *mayordomo* of the candles. Men carry them swung on poles. In front go women carrying baskets of flowers and braziers of burning copal

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ambition to reduce unbroken ground begin now to clear the brush and weeds from *claculoles*.[1] During this otherwise-idle season men repair houses, walls, roads, fountains. Everywhere around the village householders are carrying stones to replace those fallen from broken walls, or are putting new tiles on roofs. Groups of men, working co-operatively, rebuild broken washing stones, relay stones in the streets, or build new water tanks on street corners.

During this period fairs are held in some of the larger villages in Morelos, and these draw some from Tepoztlán who make the journey usually on foot, occasionally in part by train. The dates of the fairs are given according to the number of Fridays preceding Holy Week. Thus, "the first Friday" is the fair of Chalma and also that of Xiutepec; "the second Friday," that of Tepalzingo. Then follow the fairs of Tlayacapan and Mazatepec. Some men make the rounds of all these fairs.

Palm Sunday, El Domingo de Ramos.—On this day people bring palm, laurel, and cedar to the church to be blessed.

Holy Tuesday,[2] *Martes Santo.*—Men assist the *mayordomos* to decorate the church, to dress the images, and to prepare the candles for Holy Week. A table is laid in the yard of the Templo Mayor, and in

[1] *Tlecololli:* pieces of unbroken land on mountain slopes first reduced to tillage by clearing. They are allotted out of the communal *ejidos*.

[2] Frances Toor (*Mexican Folkways*) says Thursday, but this is probably an error. The old custom was to build a prison for Christ, she says, and imprison the image all night.

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the afternoon a dinner is served there to twelve of the older men. This symbolizes the Last Supper. A thirteenth chair is left vacant. The Lenten meal is eaten: fish, rice, and sometimes lentils and the dish known as *revoltijo*.[1]

Wednesday.—Today and Thursday and Friday and on Saturday morning only absolutely necessary work is done. No social entertainment is held, no rocket is discharged. The men do not go to fetch wood from the mountains; the public washing-stones are deserted. The women do only the unavoidable grinding and cooking. People try to have enough water hauled by Tuesday night to last until Saturday. The bells are not rung in the church towers; instead, the *matraca*, a huge wooden rattle, is sounded.

Thursday.—The altars in the church are decorated with laurel and with cedar. On each lie rows of oranges and *toronjos* (the shaddock), with little squares of gold and silver paper pasted on them.[2] An image (El Señor de Santo Entierro) is displayed in a glass-and-gilt coffin. A man sits at the entrance of the church to collect offerings (which are occasional and not made as perpetual pledges) for the crown and clothing of this image. In the afternoon, if the priest is there, he washes the feet of the Disciples. Many

[1] A seasoned stew of shrimps and nopal (cactus).

[2] The laurel and cedar are given away the following Monday. They are used to stop storms, particularly hailstorms. When a storm approaches, people put one of these sacred boughs on the fire and the storm recedes. Frances Toor (*op. cit.*, p. 54) says they are also hung up at doors and windows to keep out evil spirits. The oranges and shaddocks are blessed by the priest and sold; the peel is used for various remedies.

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women come to pray and burn candles, and some bring garlands of *flor de chicaltzo* or *cacaloxochitl*[1] to hang on the candles.

Some of the chapels are open, and special images are displayed for veneration. In the chapel of Santa Cruz the *mayordomo* dresses the image known as El Señor de Los Azotes.

Good Friday.[2]—All the ordinary images and the large Christ at the central altar are covered with purple curtains. At one side of the church three special images are exhibited: a Christ lying beneath a purple shroud,[3] a Christ bearing the cross,[4] a Mary dressed in black.[5] All morning people come to pray, to burn candles, and to set incense-burners before these images.[6] A little girl dressed in white with a white crown sits before the recumbent Christ, tending the incense-burner. Among the crowd of kneeling women are four young girls dressed all in black, with their hair dressed in many tight curls, and wearing black crowns. These are the *anxeltin tenapalohuatonantzin* ("angels who carry the Virgin").

[1] *Plumeria tricolor* Ruiz and Pavon.

[2] Frances Toor says that when the priest is there on Friday morning he performs a ceremony known as the "adoration of the cross." He crawls on his knees between two rows of men to kiss the cross, followed by women and children.

[3] El Señor de Santo Entierro.

[4] Tres Caidos.

[5] La Virgen Dolorosa.

[6] The first two of these images have each their special *mayordomos*. The Virgen Dolorosa is served by four elderly women, the *madres mayolas*. These (and probably also the two *mayordomos*) serve for life. The *madres mayolas* select each year the four *anxeltin*.

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*796 San Pedro is too small to supply enough, but they are 535 instructed by a *maestro* in San Pedro. They wear em- [292] broidered skirts, silk neckerchiefs, and small paper crowns surmounted by a black ostrich-feather plume. They dance around a tall pole and in dancing interweave colored ribbons.[1] They do not sing.

*796 A *castillo del día* is burned; everyone of the *barrio* [541] eats *mole verde* and *tamales*.

[262] *April 30 and May 1.*—These days form the *castiyohpa* and the *cerahpa* of the *fiesta* just passed.

[794] *May 2.*—The *chirimía* plays on the chapel of Santa [533] Cruz on this day.

May 3.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the *barrio* of Santa Cruz. It is not an important *fiesta*. There is a [541] *castillo de la noche* and of course the people of the [262] barrio eat *mole verde* and *tamales*.

[778] This day is also the day on which crosses are raised at street corners, above water tanks, on conspicuous hills. The crosses are hung with flowers and copal is [333] burned before them. It is also the day specially de- [541] voted to the masons, who sometimes set off rockets to celebrate.[2]

132 The first of the rains have come now, occasional and 133 uncertain showers. Only at *Axihtla*, the cleft in the hills where arises the *barranca* of San Jeronimo, does fresh bright green appear, and in parts of the *barrio* of Santo Domingo, better watered than other regions.

[1] This "May Pole" is not necessarily European in origin. Sahagun refers to such a dance.

[2] The *fiesta* of the masons is generally celebrated in Mexico City.

[i.e. Los DANZANTES of the fiesta of San Pedro - ANALYST]

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ready been stated,[1] each of the seven *barrios* has likewise its special protector. There are usually a number of images in each church, but only one, usually enshrined in the principal altar, is the local guardian. (In the chapels of the *barrios* there is often[2] only the one image: that of the namesake and patron of the *barrio*.) It is the particular effigy that is venerated; reports[3] are plentiful of the refusal of the people to accept a new effigy of the saint as at all the equivalent of the old.

The people who live in the community presided over by the *santo* have a particular and exclusive attitude toward his protection. It is they primarily who make offerings on his name day; and it is they who have the task and the pleasure of maintaining his chapel, his cornfield, and his vestments. And they are rewarded with his special care. "San Sebastian," said a man of that *barrio*, "is the most miraculous *santo* in Tepoztlán. Therefore we are the most fortunate *barrio*. He appears to us in dreams and gives us advice."

Around these *santos* tend to cluster legends of their miraculous power.

> Our *santo* [of Santa Cruz] is very miraculous. Therefore we venerate it. When the Carranzistas, during the revolution, tried to break into the chapel, their bullets flattened on the door and refused to enter. One man went in and started toward the altar. He fell dead at the foot of the altar. It is a very miraculous

[1] Chap. iv.

[2] La Santa Cruz is one exception.

[3] Gamio, *La población del valle de Teotihuacan*, II, 215; Adan, art., "Las danzas de Coatetelco."

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773 image. It punishes too. If one does something evil, first one's
•778 children die, then oneself. But it does all we ask it in good faith. So we venerate it much.

Most of the *santos* receive veneration only in the locality. But when legends such as this cluster thickly, the image comes to be sought by people not of the region, and in this way develop the sacred shrines of Mexico, such as Guadalupe and Chalma. The Virgin [776] of Guadalupe, with the universally known story of her miraculous apparition to an ordinary Indian, is the religious common denominator of Mexico. So at 776 lesser shrines an individual may develop a special per- 778 sonal relation with a *santo* not his by inheritance. An Otomi Indian from north of Mexico City was in a village in the state of Puebla during the revolution. He attributed his escape from death in a serious engagement to the local *santo;* therefore he now makes occasional pilgrimages to her shrine. Such relationships are often entered into in times of crisis by a conditional vow which is essentially contractual.[1]

[551] Neither the present materials nor those of Dr.
[171] Gamio indicate special personal relations between an individual and the *santo* on whose name day the individual is born, such as occur in Catholic Europe.

The word *santo* is special and exact; there is no substitute for it, and it is used in both Spanish and Nahuatl discourse. Generally it means any sacred effigy;

[1] Gamio (*op. cit.*, II, 217) prints the text of an actual written contract made by votaries intending to perform certain religious dances in exchange for the good will of the saint, the penalty for failure to perform the dances to be incarceration in the local jail.

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specifically and commonly it refers to the images of Christian saints housed in temples. *Veterano*, on the other hand, is not a word with this precise conceptual connotation. It is an appellation applied to any distinguished military leader. People do not say *los veteranos* as they do say *los santos*. But the term always implies the heroic qualities which, tending to become mythical, make the *veterano* a symbol rather than an individual person; and, therefore, it is convenient to use it to denote this secular complement of the *santo*.

Every revolution produces its hundreds of *veteranos*. The memories of the lesser *veteranos* exert an influence as local as that of the lesser *santos*. The reputation of a few becomes as wide as Mexico. Probably the best known of these popular heroes is Pancho Villa,[1] and perhaps the one other who comes close to national fame is Emiliano Zapata. In spite of this wide notoriety, Zapata remains, however, a particular hero, and the greatest hero, of the Indians of Morelos. There live the memories of many other Zapatista generals—of Felipe Neri, Sirino Serna, Diego Ruiz, and Everardo González. There were at least five Zapatista generals from Tepoztlán.[2] There are stories about all of these, and *corridos* about many, but the heroic qualities of none of them can compare with the local conception of Emiliano Zapata, the principal leader of the southern revolutionary movement against Carranza.

[1] There are many *corridos* about Villa and several popular books describing his life and exploits.

[2] The three Sanchez brothers and the two Galvan brothers.

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243 cultivation. However, it probably also serves to strengthen the outside rows against the wind, and Tepoztecans believe that it protects the inside of the milpa.

In the more fertile lands which are in the hotter and lower portions of the municipio, it is customary to hill all the plants because the corn grows so fast that a third cultivation with oxen would damage the tall plants. The hilling of each plant requires much more labor, and therefore necessitates more capital when *peones* are hired for the job. In areas within the municipio such as Calamatlán, where this hilling is done, the process is referred to as *una tierra y medio cajón*, that is, one cultivation followed by hilling. The hilling is believed to safeguard the tall plants against the winds.

527 The termination of cultivation is known as the *acabada* and is celebrated by a
243 fiesta in the fields and at home. This generally occurs toward mid-August. Im-
[788] mediately after the last hilling, some Tepoztecans walk around the milpa and re-
[534] cite a speech. The following is a typical speech.

Now I have fulfilled my obligation of attending and cultivating you as you deserve. Now if you do not want to produce, that is your responsibility. For my part I now retire.

[778] A wooden cross is sometimes put in the center of the milpa after the last row
[264] is cultivated and prayers and religious songs are said by the owner. Fireworks are set off and bread and cheese, tequila and *ponche* are served to the workers and others present. The oxen are decorated with flowers, generally dahlias, tulips, and banana leaves, and a picture of San Isidro. After celebrating in the milpa the oxen are driven home, where there is more food and drink for the *peones*, the family, and any *compadres* and friends who may be invited. Tamales, rice, tortilla, *mole*
[264] *verde*, and drinks of *ponche* are plentiful, and firecrackers are set off in the patio.

243 The last cultivation and its celebration are generally over by late August. There follows a long period during which relatively little is done in the cornfields. Dur-
[245] ing this time the farmers harvest their *ciruela* crops, which ripen in early September.

[527] Toward the end of September the fresh corn is ready in the fields, and families
[778] turn out to the milpas to roast corn and to drink *ponche*. On September 28, the day
[788] of Saint Miguel, the farmers carry a cross made of *pericón*, which has been blessed
[82] by the priest, and they place it on the four sides of the milpa to protect it against
[780] strong winds which often blow at this time. It is an old belief that if the winds
[770] blow strong and the corn is damaged it is because the dancers who represent El Tepozteco at the fiesta on September 8 did not perform properly. While this explanation is widely known, few still believe it. Another old idea is that the wind is caused by the angels spreading their wings.

During October the weeding of the milpa with machete is done wherever necessary. A milpa of ten or twelve *cuartillos* can generally be done by a man in one or two days. After that there is a long period when no work in the milpa is
[245] done. During this time farmers continue to pick their *ciruelas*, look after their animals, cut wood, and do other tasks around the house.

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earth. Most of the younger people of the village view beds as a desirable luxury. Pillows, mattresses, pillowcases, sheets, and bedspreads are found in only a few Tepoztecan homes. A wool serape is all the bedding known to the majority of the population.

Sleeping arrangements vary somewhat from family to family, but the most widespread custom is for the parents to share their *petate* with the children of about two to six years of age who sleep between them. This is also true when a bed is used. The nursing baby sleeps on the other side, next to the mother. Cradles are used only during the day. Older children sleep apart, the girls sharing one *petate* and the boys another. In homes with more than one room the parents and small children sleep in one room and the older children in the other; in few homes are there enough rooms to permit the separation of older brothers and sisters. Sometimes parents are embarrassed to lie down together in the presence of their children, and the mother sleeps with the daughters while the father sleeps with the sons.

Most homes have a makeshift altar in the main room of the house. This is usually a table on which are placed candles, flowers, incense burners, and images of saints. These images are highly prized and occupy a prominent place in the home. Some families have large images of Jesus, Mary, or one of the saints, which have been in the family for many generations. Religious pictures are hung on the wall over the table, and frequently there are tissue paper decorations arranged around the table. (See Fig. 39.)

Wooden boxes and one or two wooden chests are used for storage of clothing, blankets, and other personal property. Extra clothing in regular use is hung on

Fig. 39. A domestic altar.

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fused old Aztec concepts with those of the Catholic Church. His figure is also confused with the god, Ometochtli, so that today he is known as El Tepozteco, god of the wind and son of the Virgin Mary. For Tepoztecans the Catholic Trinity is viewed as a combination of three distinct gods, and the cross is a magical symbol which has no relation to the death of Jesus. Tepoztecans continue to fear omens, evil spirits, and *los aires*. When they are in dire need of rain they pray to El Tepozteco for aid.

The growth of Catholicism and the church in Tepoztlán was rapid. When the first mass baptisms of the Tepoztecans occurred, no priests resided permanently in Tepoztlán, but a few years later the natives began to petition for the construction of a church in the town, since they did not want to be dependent upon the services of the priests from Yautepec or Oaxtepec. We do not know the exact date of the construction of the first church in Tepoztlán. However, in the *Relación* of 1580 we are told that the church had already been established:

> There is in this village a monastery of Dominican friars with three friars who administer the sacraments and that at the beginning they did not have any priest in this town and that they came from Yautepec and Guaxtepeque to baptize and confess the people, and that in the time of the Viceroy Luis de Velasco they asked for priests since many had died without confession and without baptism and so it was ordered that a monastery be built and the village did so at its own cost.[4]

Since the Viceroy Luis de Velasco was in office from 1550 to 1564, it must be supposed that the construction of the Tepoztecan church began during that time.

The Dominicans in Tepoztlán, while occupied in carrying out the administrative measures of the viceroy and in arousing in the natives respect for the Spanish authorities, also attempted to extirpate all pre-Hispanic cults. The Dominicans were especially vigorous in their attacks upon the native priests whom they regarded as witches, and upon the ancient idols which were instruments of the devil. One of their first objectives was to destroy the great image of Ometochtli, situated at the top of a mountain overlooking the village.[5]

Father F. Domingo de la Anunciación ordered the idol hurled over the cliff to show the natives that it could be smashed, hoping thus to destroy their faith in the power of the god. Despite the great height from which the idol fell, it remained intact. However, with the aid of prayers, exorcisms, and large hammers, the priests managed to break the stone.

According to our informants, when the idol fell it made a terrible noise which put fear into the spectators. When it did not break, alarm spread among the Indians and many would have defended their god had it not been for the presence of Spanish soldiers. After the destruction of the image, Tepoztecans lived in fear of the vengeance of the god. Tradition has it that Ometochtli ran through the streets at night crying and bemoaning the fate of the Tepoztecans at the hands of the con-

[4] *Relación*, p. 245.

[5] Remains of the temple and the stairway still exist in Tepoztlán, and attract many tourists.

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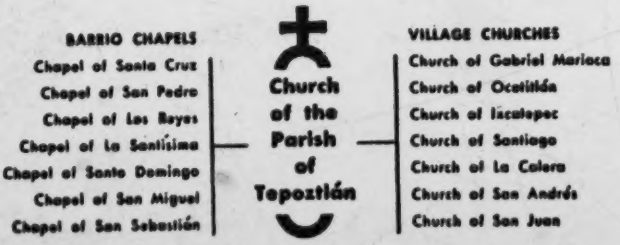
In addition to barrio *mayordomos* there are *mayordomos* of the chapels of the seven surrounding villages. Occasionally the people of these villages select someone in Tepoztlán to be their *mayordomo*, as did Ixcatepec in electing a young man from the barrio of San Pedro in Tepoztlán.

There are also several *mayordomos* of an inferior category who are in charge of certain images. Thus, for example, in the barrio of Santa Cruz there is a *mayordomo* to care for the Virgen del Rosario situated in the barrio chapel.

The *mayordomos* have several assistants whom we include on the sixth level of religious functionaries. The *limosneros* are permanent functionaries who collect the taxes from house to house. These men, attired in their clean Sunday clothes and carrying a plate on which is a spray of Bougainvillaea or some other red flowers, visit every house asking for contributions, such as "A *limosna* for the image of the *Divino Rostro* whose day is to be celebrated on Sunday." One type of *limosnero* of special interest is the *huehuechique*, who can say Catholic prayers in Náhuatl and who collects money for the New Year. At one time there were many *huehuechiques* but now there is only one in the barrio of Santa Cruz.

Among those who assist the *mayordomos* and who animate the barrio fiestas are the musicians. When there is not enough money to hire a professional band from Cuernavaca or Mexico City, the *mayordomos* will hire local musicians. Other assistants clean the local chapel and repair the masonry. The *danzantes* who dance in honor of the barrio saint are also temporary functionaries. It is the task of the *mayordomo* to organize dance groups and to persuade parents to permit their children to participate. Still another temporary functionary is the *mayordomo* in charge of organizing religious peregrinations to other parts of Mexico.

CHART 4. Organization of the church.



On the seventh level of the religious hierarchy are the faithful members of the church. It is from among the more pious of these that a regular congregation and members of the religious associations are drawn; almost everyone in the village, however, participates at some time in religious activities, in barrio fiestas, and in the *cuatequitl del santo*, which is the collective working of the milpas dedicated to the support of particular saints.

All Tepoztecans, whether pious or not, contribute money to the church; indeed, the church of Tepoztlán is entirely self-supporting and does not require sub-

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with a suit of fine cloth." He is almost always met on lonely roads or in the woods during the night. To combat his evil influence, Tepoztecans recite a prayer to some saint, especially to St. Michael and St. Gabriel. When a Tepoztecan brings an offering to St. Michael he considers it necessary to light a candle to the devil as well, even though it be a small candle, so that he will not be angered.

Despite four hundred years of Catholicism, most Tepoztecans do not yet have a clear concept of the Catholic heaven and hell. According to Aztec religion the equivalent of heaven was a pleasant place where dead warriors and women who died in childbirth went to live. The existence of hell as a place for expiating sins committed in life was totally unknown. There was only Mictlán, the region of the dead, where souls continued to live the same life as they had on earth. Tepoztecans have no concept of eternal punishment. Hell is a form of purgatory to which only the greatest sinners are sentenced. Ordinary people do not fear hell, for "the temperate ones, those who believe in God, those who have done some good," go to heaven. The threat of hell is chiefly used to control the conduct of children; adults are not generally concerned with life after death.

Tepoztecans view heaven simply as a place of glory, "that is, a place where one has no necessities." Although hell may be described as "a place where there is a lot of fire and where sinners are burned," Tepoztecans do not actually view hell this way. To them going to hell means being condemned to wander over the earth at night, dragging chains until the period of punishment and suffering is over and the soul is admitted to heaven. Many accounts of such punishment are told in the village. The following is typical:

> A woman who was a witch didn't leave her property well distributed, nor any written directions about it. Her children did not know what belonged to each and wanted to give the younger brother only a small share. He didn't agree to this, and it would have been better if he had, for after that every night at a late hour the children heard chains dragging and the sound of weeping. The sounds stopped at the door of their house and then began again. The brother consulted several people, and they advised him to confess and tell the priest what he had heard. He did this, and the priest told him to wait a day, and he would tell him where he would find his mother. The next day the priest said he could not locate his mother, but that he should go to where they sent the bones from the butcher's. He did so, and at midnight he found his mother tied to a post with a strong chain. When she saw him, she began to cry and told him that if he did not wish to see her in this state, he should accept the small share. The son was convinced and took his portion of the inheritance and after that they never again heard the noise, and the mother ceased to suffer.

All accounts include the dragging of chains by the soul and the scene at the slaughterhouse. The soul is released from suffering by some of the living who make up for the sins of the dead.

The saints are viewed as intermediaries with God, and Tepoztecans devote themselves to cultivating their favor. The saints are endowed with personal qualities, and their images are worshipped directly as divine beings rather than as mere symbols of living saints. This is evident when, in times of drought, the saints of

776 [782] 775 776 778 [821]

1 [i.e. - the "devil's" evil influence - ANALYST]

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each of the barrios, as well as of some of the villages, are appealed to for rain. All the images are shut up in the parish church and are taken out in procession only in the afternoon when the sun is high, so that the images will feel the heat and notice the people's discomfort and sadness.

The saints with greater punishing powers are most assiduously worshipped. Saint Peter, of the barrio of San Pedro, is one of these. If there are not enough dancers at his feast day, he brings illness and misfortune to those who did not participate. Saint Peter, whose image is accompanied by a lion, is said to use this animal to frighten children into dancing for him and sometimes to appear to a father who has refused to permit his children to dance. It is also believed that if a person does not accept the office of *mayordomo* of the barrio of San Pedro, the lion will be sent to frighten him.

In their view of the saints, Tepoztecans reveal a tendency toward polytheism. This is indicated in the distinct attitudes toward the different images of the same saint. For example, the various local figures of Christ do not all have equal powers and are not all worshipped with equal fervor. The Christ of Ixcatepec is considered "very miraculous" and is called upon when there is great misfortune, such as extreme drought. He is rendered special homage by taking children, dressed in white tunics and wearing a crown of thorns and little thorn crosses on their backs, to the chapel of Ixcatepec to do penance.

The conception of the soul will be discussed in Chapter 19, "Old Age and Death." Here it should be noted that Tepoztecans distinguish between the body, the soul, and the spirit in the following way: "The body serves us for all our needs, to satisfy our necessities," and "The soul is that which gives life to the body and which will be punished in the other life according to our sins."

When a sin is committed, "The body is not at fault, it is the soul which rules." The spirit guards the body and soul from all that is bad, it is the Guardian Angel, "like a dove, like a pigeon, but invisible." The spirit is the companion of the soul and gives it strength. "That is why when a person is not brave, he has little spirit."

The question of sin does not overly concern Tepoztecans. Sin is inevitable, for "we are all sinners." It comes as "malice" enters a person and as innocence leaves, it comes with knowledge of life, with sexuality, with loss of virginity or purity. Malice can be delayed by keeping children in ignorance, but sooner or later they will become sinners. However, sinners are differentiated according to the degree of their sin, so that there are good sinners and bad sinners.

Sins, too, vary in degree. To the Tepoztecan, lying, adultery, and failure to attend Mass, to take communion, to confess, or to celebrate feast days are without importance as sins. The Ten Commandments and other fundamental rules of conduct imposed by the Catholic Church do not control the behavior of the Tepoztecan. For him the most important sins are stealing, killing, and practicing witchcraft. These acts are also differentiated in degree of gravity.

In the case of theft there is a wide range of permissible stealing which is not considered sinful. Thus, it is no sin to steal the roof tiles, or the hearthstones, or the

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him revert to human form. *Naguales* have the power to enter houses, even when doors are closed, can steal anything, and can quietly carry off girls by putting them into a deep sleep. To prevent thefts by *Naguales* a cross is marked on the bottom of *metates* which then become too heavy for the *Nagual* to lift. Some *Naguales* will steal girls for a sum of money. *Naguales* cannot be wounded by a knife or a gun, and it is impossible to hit them or throw stones at them because of a secret power which defends them. Some people believe that El Tepozteco can turn himself into a *Nagual* and that he is their chief.

Los aires are mysterious forces, variously thought of as winds, spirits, or little people who may cause sores, pimples, paralysis, and other illnesses. They are found in stream beds, ravines, in stagnant pools, and atop the highest hills. Tepoztecans are careful to avoid *los aires* and not to offend them. Some old women still say certain Náhuatl phrases asking permission of *los aires* to take water from the stream. Those who must pass by stagnant water after bathing in a *temascal* must drop some of the leaves, with which they dried themselves, into the pool in order to avoid headaches, earaches, or watering of the eyes. To get rid of these afflictions one must be cleansed with salt and yarrow leaves which are afterward thrown into the middle of the street. Sometimes when a person eats beside a stream or near a ravine, he will be attacked by *los aires* and will have a headache and fever. The illness is treated by cleansing the person with herbs, which are then thrown into the stream or ravine. If the sick person continues to have fever and dreams of canes, water, or food, it means that *los aires* struck him very hard and must be fed. *Mole*, tamales, and fruit are prepared, and a special loaf of bread in the shape of a doll is ordered from the baker. The doll is decorated in red, and the meal, adorned with red crepe paper, is carried to the suspected stream and left there.[10]

Los aires are also believed to take refuge in anthills, and one who disturbs an anthill may suffer grave injury. For this reason no Tepoztecan dares open an anthill to remove the queen ant, despite the fact that the local variety of ants is very voracious and can destroy an entire cornfield. When a farmer discovers an anthill in his field he will place food, such as mango leaves, around the hole, so that the ants will not eat the corn. The farmers sometimes place poisonous leaves at an anthill, but the ants soon learn not to eat them. Some of the more advanced farmers use chemical products including D.D.T. to kill the ants but even the most educated will not open an anthill.

Informants relate that not long ago a man, not of Tepoztlán, used to sell ant dung as fertilizer. He collected the material from anthills, but after six months of this work he fell ill, became badly crippled, and died. The same thing happened to the uncle of one of our informants; after opening an anthill he spent eight years in bed, crippled and inflamed from the effects of *los aires*.

Belief in good and bad omens continues in Tepoztlán. These beliefs are innu-

[10] In Redfield's account a real doll, with red checks and decorated with colored yarn, is used. The bread doll is more closely reminiscent of the dough images offered in propitiation in pre-Hispanic times.

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They are made of heavy satin and velvet and trimmings of glass beads, tiny mirrors, sequins, and gold fringe. Some men go to distant cities to purchase the finest materials. The huge hats are also more elaborate, and many are lighted by electric light bulbs placed in the brim and worked by concealed batteries. The cost of a complete *chinelo* outfit was between 100 and 300 pesos in 1944. By 1947, the cost had risen to over 600 pesos. An interesting aspect of the Carnaval is that the masked participants frequently ridicule and caricature popular figures in the village, much to their discomfiture.

Fiesta of Ash Wednesday, celebrated in the parish church: Initiates Lent and brings with it obligations to fast, pray, light candles at the altar, pay *limosnas*, etc. Most Tepoztecans go to church to "take the ash." They believe that the cross made on their foreheads by the priest protects them against sorcery and evil acts of enemies. This belief is strengthened by the fact that the ashes used are those from the burning of old images of holy figures. It is customary for Tepoztecans to bring old images to the sexton to be burned. When Lent begins, the images in the central church and in the chapels are ceremonially covered with purple cloths by men who have inherited the honor from their fathers.

Fiesta of First Friday of Lent, celebrated in Chalma and Jiutepec: Two *mayordomos* in Tepoztlán organize pilgrimages to these holy centers. Each *mayordomo* has a banner with images of the Santo Señor de Chalma and the Santo Cristo of Jiutepec. The pilgrimage to Chalma includes the *pastores*, children who will sing to the image. The group going to Jiutepec includes dancers.

Fiesta of Second Friday of Lent, celebrated in Cuautla: Only a few Tepoztecans attend this fiesta.

Fiesta of Third Friday of Lent, celebrated in Tepalzingo: Because of the fair held at Tepalzingo, many Tepoztecans go, particularly those who wish to buy or sell. *Curanderos* go to purchase herbs from other localities and to sell Tepoztecan herbs; the ropemakers of San Sebastián go to sell ropes. Local merchants go to buy *rebozos*, painted gourds, and curiosities.

Fiesta of Fourth Friday of Lent, celebrated in Tlayacapan: In homage of the *Virgen del Transito*. According to Tepoztecan legend, this image once belonged to Tepoztlán, but in 1770 it was taken to Tlayacapan to be repainted. On the way back the men who carried it became tired and set it down. When they were ready to go on they found the image had become too heavy to lift. This was interpreted to mean that the image wished a temple to be built for her there, and that is why she remained in Tlayacapan. It is believed that the image promised Tepoztlán water so long as Tepoztecans made pilgrimages to Tlayacapan. Thus, it is the custom of many Tepoztecan families to attend this fiesta

Fiesta of the Sunday after Fourth Friday of Lent, celebrated in Ocotitlán: Only those with *compadres* or friends in Ocotitlán attend this fiesta.

Fiesta of Fifth Friday of Lent, celebrated in Mazatepec and Totolapan: Both towns have important fairs on this occasion. Pilgrimages to Totolapan are organized by the *mayordomía* of Gabriel Mariaca, and to Mazatepec by the *mayordomía* of the barrio of Santa Cruz. Those who go generally take many flowers to sell, especially the *yoloxochitl* (heart flower), and buy in return *petates*, *rebozos*, dried squash gourds, tamarind, and several types of dried seed.

March 19. *Fiesta of San José*, celebrated in Santa Cruz: The large image of San José is housed in the barrio chapel along with other saints. Since the devotees of this image have been steadily increasing, there is talk of building a separate chapel for the image.

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Fiesta of Sixth Friday of Lent or Viernes de Dolores, celebrated in the parish church: Fasting is required. This is the beginning of Holy Week.

Fiesta of Sábado de Dolores, celebrated in the parish church: This is celebrated with holy offices and a Vía Crucis procession.

Fiesta of Palm Sunday, celebrated in the parish church: This is a very important holiday. Tepoztecans take palm leaves to be blessed by the priest. It is believed that blessed palm protects against lightning. Ashes of blessed palm placed upon the head are thought to cure bad headaches. Blessed palm is also placed at the door of the house to prevent fires and being struck by lightning.

Fiesta of Holy Monday and Holy Tuesday, celebrated in the parish church: These are days of great devotion. The religious associations are very active, visiting the church and barrio chapels. Many Tepoztecans choose these days for their annual confession.

Fiesta of Holy Wednesday: Rigorous fasting begins. Meat is not eaten until the Saturday of Glory. Substitute foods are beans, *huauzontle*, *tortas*, stuffed peppers, fish, *revoltijo*, and lentils. All work must stop through the Sunday of Resurrection. Women prepare tortillas for the rest of the week. In the evening is the vigil of the Lord, the men taking turns all through the night. Women customarily go to church in the late afternoon to pray the thirty-three Credos, one for each year of Jesus' life. It is believed that those who do this will triple their earnings during the year.

Holy Thursday: The church is full on this day. The priest dramatically describes the passion of Christ, and crying on the part of women is common. Not to do so is "to have a cold heart." In the afternoon is the ceremonial foot-washing of the apostles.

Holy Friday: This is the culminating day of Holy Week. Throughout the village there is profound quietude. No one must run or shout or use bad words, so as not to offend the Lord. The men silently drink their *ponche* together while the women, dressed in black, go to church. On this day, children are not to be struck, for "it would be striking the Lord."

Holy Saturday: At 7:00 A.M. the faithful of the village and the municipio go to the church where the priest pronounces the "Gloria in Excelsis Deo." With this all the bells, which have been silent since Wednesday, are rung, and joy spreads through the village. While the bells ring, old men trim their plants so that they will produce more, mothers snip the ends of their daughter's hair to make it grow longer, and children are struck on the legs to make them grow taller. Two or three *comparsas* are organized to dance on this day.

Easter Sunday: Everyone dresses well and goes to Mass. Sometimes the *chinelos* leap in the afternoon. People stand in little groups in the plaza, and men drink a great deal.

April 29. *Fiesta of San Pedro*, celebrated in San Pedro: The only unusual feature of this fiesta is the group of children who dance for San Pedro.

May 1-31. All this month is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and *rosarios* are held every afternoon. Girls from seven to fifteen years of age dress in white and bring flowers to the Virgin.

May 3. *Fiesta of Santa Cruz*, celebrated in Santa Cruz: This fiesta is celebrated not only in this barrio but in all homes and places having crosses. All crosses are adorned with flowers, especially Bougainvillaea. Incense is burned, and fireworks are set off. This fiesta is also celebrated in Ixcatepec, but is postponed until the following Sunday in deference to the barrio of Santa Cruz. It is one of the best attended fiestas. There are cockfights and visiting dancers from Yautepec and Milpa Alta.

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May 8. ***Fiesta of San Miguel,*** **celebrated in San Miguel: This is one of the two annual fiestas of this barrio. As one of the larger barrios, it spends huge sums to have an impressive fiesta.**

The following Thursday. ***Fiesta of Thursday of the Ascensión,*** **celebrated in the parish church: This is a movable fiesta, which comes seven weeks after Holy Thursday. Mass is said in the large church, and fireworks are set off. The peasants must rest this day.**

Ten days later. ***Fiesta of Tlanepantla,*** **celebrated in Tlanepantla: A favorite fiesta of Tepoztecans, who carry** ***aguacate, cuajilote,*** **and** ***zapote blanco*** **for sale.**

All of June is dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

About June 12. ***Fiesta of La Santísima,*** **celebrated in La Santísima: La Santísima, traditional rival of Santo Domingo, organizes an impressive fiesta, with the usual playing of the** ***chirimía,*** **and the eating of** ***mole*** **and tamales.**

June 24. ***Fiesta of Day of San Juan,*** **celebated in San Juan: Boys and girls sing** ***mañanitas*** **to the image of San Juan at dawn. Then they visit houses where persons named Juan or Juanita live, and they sing** ***mañanitas.*** **In the afternoon, the young people go out to the fields to seek four-leaf clovers for luck.**

June 29. ***Fiesta of San Pedro,*** **celebrated in San Pedro: Similar to other fiestas.**

July 16. ***Fiesta of Day of Virgin of Carmen,*** **celebrated in the parish church: All who wear the scapulary of this virgin must attend Mass.**

July 22. ***Fiesta of Amatlán,*** **celebrated in Amatlán: Generally only about fifty Tepoztecans attend.**

July 25. ***Fiesta of Santiago,*** **celebrated in Santiago: During our visit about 150 persons from Tepoztlán attended.**

Aug. 4. ***Fiesta of Santo Domingo,*** **celebrated in Santo Domingo: An important fiesta which lasts three days. A band is hired in Mexico City for greater prestige. There are** ***toros,*** **cockfights, dancers, and fireworks.**

Aug. 6. ***Fiesta of San Salvador,*** **celebrated in Santa Cruz and Ixcatepec: Follows the usual patterns of barrio fiestas.**

Aug. 15. ***Fiesta of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary,*** **celebrated in Tejalpa.**

Sept. 8. ***Fiesta of the Virgin of the Natividad,*** **patron of Tepoztlán: This is one of the most important village-wide fiestas, combining pre-Hispanic and Catholic elements. The Catholic ceremony in honor of the Virgin takes place in the church; the honor to El Tepozteco takes place out of doors. A dance to El Tepozteco is held to the accompaniment of the ancient** ***teponaztle*** **and a traditional discourse of El Tepozteco in Náhuatl is spoken.**

Sept. 28. ***Day of the Blessing of the Pericón,*** **celebrated in the parish church and cornfields: This is an outing day for Tepoztecans who go out into the cornfields to roast fresh corn and place crosses of blessed** ***pericón*** **at the four corners of the milpas. Similar crosses are also placed in the homes, for it is believed that on this night the demons are loose, and the evil winds blow hard.**

Sept. 29. ***Fiesta of Barrio of San Miguel,*** **celebrated in San Miguel: Follows the tradition of other barrio fiestas.**

Oct. 31. ***All Saints' Day (Children),*** **celebrated in the parish church, in the homes, and at the cemetery: Day in commemoration of dead children. A candle is lighted for the dead child, and incense is burned.[3]**

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[3] See Redfield, *Tepoztlán,* for more detailed description.

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It is readily seen from this that one can view formal Catholicism both in terms of religious phenomena as such, and also in terms of the goals and ends of the Church as She conceives of Herself. In principle the Church need not be dependent upon social organization, although of necessity She must operate within it. There is this difference between formal Catholicism as such, and those aspects of cultural and folk Catholicism which are reflected in what Redfield terms the "social organization of tradition."

In the village of Tepoztlán, we may identify formal Catholicism as being materially expressed by the parish Church and the pastor. Nominal Catholicism is represented here as elsewhere by that portion of the population which claims to be Catholic, but does not observe with any great faithfulness the wishes, the spirit, or the laws of the Church. Cultural Catholicism is demonstrated in the social implications of holy days, holidays and fiestas which originate in liturgical religious observances but become indistinguishable in the minds of some, from patriotic or ethnocentric celebrations. Folk Catholicism is manifested in demonstrations of fireworks as a part of Catholic worship, indigenous artistic expression used in decorations of chapels and images, special meanings given to saints which have developed in the santos cult, and in lay participation in barrio chapel affairs with the onus of responsibility upon the layman, without the presence of the village pastor.

The presence of neighborhood shrines, which are actually small churches dedicated to a patron saint who thus becomes the patron of the barrio, from the Catholic point of view, presents a unique problem in terms of religious activity in the village. The barrio and the chapel are known by the name of the patron saint, whose image is placed on the main altar, and whose fiesta is observed each year according to the liturgical calendar of the Catholic Church. The chapel and certain lands adjoining it, are the property of the barrio. The seven barrios are geographically delineated, each having its own point of view regarding its importance, the importance of the patron saint, and its relationship to religious action. Barrio member-

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794 intentions of the Catholic Church; and that the formal
795 Church, in turn, affects the expression of religious feelings and beliefs thus influencing the folk practices.

796 What then is indigenous to the folk, and what is superimposed by the formal Church, through Her representatives in the hierarchy? This may be illustrated by the observation of the Feast of the Assumption, August fifteenth. The Feast was celebrated in the parish Church as a Holy Day of Obligation of the Universal Church, with Masses as on Sundays, and special ceremonies, decorations and observances in honor of the Virgin's Assumption into Heaven.

The little barrio of San Sebastian also celebrated this Feast with certain indigenous practices. A statue of the Virgin known
[778] as Our Lady in Transito had a prominent part in the observances;
[794] it appears to belong jointly to San Sebastian Chapel and that of another village. Each year on the Vigil of this Feast, the statue is brought in procession from one chapel to the other, to remain alternate years in each chapel.

At five o'clock in the morning, the day was heralded by the shooting off of fireworks and the ringing of the chapel bells. At nine o'clock, Mass was said by a visiting priest from Cuerna-
[793] vaca, invited by the barrio, with the permission of Padre Rojas. The Mass followed the exact formalities of the Mass as found in the parish Church, or any Catholic Church, including sung responses in Latin accompanied by organ music, and a sermon on the meaning of the Assumption. Following the Mass there was recitation of the Litany of the Saints, with responses in the vernacular, the saying of the Rosary, and Benediction. Since the Reserved Sacrament is not kept in this chapel, or in any of the barrio chapels, the priest consumed the Host following Benediction. This was the only variation from Benediction as it is observed in the parish Church.

At the conclusion of these ceremonies, in which deep and genuine religious feeling was observed on the part of the wor-
[535] shippers, the congregation withdrew to the churchyard, where the children in costume, performed the dance known as Los

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794 observed that on many days, a small group of people, mostly
[796] women, gathered in the late afternoon, lighted the candles on the main altar, and said the Rosary, singing hymns between each decade. In this they were usually led by an elderly woman cantora who also sang the responses when a sung Mass was offered in that chapel. Thus she formed a kind of bridge between the high tradition of the formal Church and the low tradition of the barrio activities. One noticed the independence
[793] of barrio folkways, although as has been noted, the pastor considered that no official barrio chapel activity was in existence save through his permission, and in this the folk appeared to concur.

It was our observation that in both the main Church and in the barrio chapels, the priest directs the parish in terms of the
[796] expectations of the high tradition. The Forty Hours Devotion, which is regularly observed in all dioceses and archdioceses of the Catholic Church is observed annually in Tepoztlán, sometimes in the barrio chapels, sometimes in the main church.
[793] If a new devotion is to be introduced, the pastor must give his
776 permission. This was illustrated in the fact that although there
778 is evidence of great devotion to the Virgin under the title of Our Lady of Guadalupe, there is also devotion to her in this vil-
794 lage under the guise of Our Lady of Fatima. Pictures of the Fatima apparition were found in the parish Church and in every one of the barrio chapels. It was learned that this devotion was introduced by a local layman, who with the pastor's permission, gave the pictures and spread the devotion. His interest was extended among the barrio folk so that in San Miguel Chapel, a statue of Our Lady of Fatima was purchased with funds collected in the barrio. This bore out the previous studies which
[621] showed that there is considerable rivalry among the barrios, and that there is a need for each to distinguish itself in some way, thus bringing it into prominence among the village folk.

796 A practice which is deeply rooted in religious custom and
574 human observance from time immemorial is that of the eating of symbolic food. This was observed in Tepoztlán in the formal Church as well as in the barrio chapels at the time of fiestas in